

R E V I E W.

Saturday, September 27. 1712.

of the present State of the Succession.

Have, for the present, done with my summary View of the State of Parties; and now, according to my first Scheme, ~~it was not the next in~~ Order, I come now to the State of the Succession; and I do it, because, I think, the Circumstances of the Times call for it: I need not go back to the History of the Settlement, the Establishing the Succession by Act of Parliament, and Confirming it by the Union, these are Things which may require to be more largely laid down, when I come to the Debate of the several Rights of the Families Claiming the Crown of Great Britain by Right of Blood; but my present Discourse lies another Way, and I shall come to it with as little Ceremony as can be expected.

The Dispute, with Relation to the Succession, as concerns the Times, lies, First, Between the House of Hanover and the Pretender; and 2dly, Between the Parties who mutually Reproach one another, and of whom it is to be inquir'd, Who is, or is not for the said House of Hanover or for the Pretender; for this all we jarr about, as to Succession.

In Examining this, *who and who not*, I foresee, as I said before, that I shall please none of you, I mean a Whig and Tory, for at the same Time that I am willing to acquit both Sides of designedly acting for the Interest of the Pretender, I shall acquit neither of doing it, *Tacitly and Consequentially*; and I wish, that while we are tearing one another thus to pieces, the Pretender does not really break in at the very Gaps which those make, who are most apparently Zealous, or at least whose Interest it most is, to keep him out.

Before I enter into this nice Enquiry, I ask leave for a little Digression, upon a Question which is just now too much the publick Talk of the Town, and which I shall put as plainly as others put it to me, *viz.* Are not the Ministers bringing in the Pretender? I see I put it as coarse as you can desire it.

Before I enter into it, I will grant you several Heads by Way of Preliminary; 1. That I allow there may be many People in publick Employ, and pushing for Places, who are not only for the Pretender, but

who verily hope, and promise themselves, even from this Ministry, that as the Disciples going to Emmaus said of Christ. *They thought it was He who should have restor'd the Kingdom to Israel*; So they think it shall be this Ministry, who shall restore the Kingdom to a Popish Pretender: This I say of the Jacobite side; I doubt not but many of them are weak enough to expect it, promise it to one another, and boast of it in publick, as a Thing done; 2. I know there are others, who either from Personal Pique, or Party Prejudice, and enrag'd at the Boasts of the other Party, are really afraid of it on the other Hand, and verily believe the present Ministry intend it; that they are in Confederacy with the Jacobites, on purpose to do it, and that *we shall one Day fall by the Hands of this Saul, this Ministry*.

I do confess, and openly own, without the least view to flatter Persons, or make my court to Parties, that I cannot but hope both these People are in the wrong; I do acknowledge, that as the blessed Apostle said, *that after the manner that you call Heresie, so worship I the God of my Fathers*; so I expect our Safety still, from the Person from whom you apprehended your Destruction; and yet I do this, without ceasing to bewail the Necessity, as I have call'd it before, of taking such Steps, and using such Tools, as have too justly fill'd the Jacobites with Hopes, that their Interest is really at bottom; on whom the blame of that Necessity lies, and who have brought it upon us, is not my present Work.

I own to you, that I cannot, *nor will I, without better Proof*, believe that the Person now at the Helm of Affairs, is in the Interest of the Pretender, than I believe the Pretender to be in a Design to Erect the Great Turk, and turn St. Paul's Cathedral into a Mahometan Mosque.

But what is all this to convince other People? What is it to the World, what I believe? Neither am I going by it, to Panegyric on the Persons of the Ministers of State, the Business is to Examine the Reason and the Nature of the Thing.

I'll go as far with you in the most ill-natur'd Things you can say of the Ministry, as you please; you shall call them what you will, only you must allow them to have their Senses, and this you have a great deal

of Reason to grant: This being allow'd, it cannot be Rational to suggest, that the Pretender is in the View of the Ministry; the Reason is plain, the Ministry enjoy more now, than ever they can be suppos'd to expect under the Reign of any-Successor, and they know it: and Men that know their Interest, seldom act against it. I would recommend a Parallel to our *Low-Church-Men*, by which, without any Paraphrase, I pretend to state the present Case.

In the Days of King *Charles II.* when *High-Flying* first began to shew itself, and the *Tories* first grew stark mad, What did we say of them? They threw out the *Occasional Bill*, they Panegyrick'd a *Popish Successor*, they ran the *Popish Plot* quite out of Breath, they join'd in with all the Court Measures, in short, they did but every Thing the Court bid them, and every Body said they were for *Popery*; yet even these *High-Flying* mad Men, when it came to the push, would not be for *Popery*; nay, in spite of all their Vows of Undisputed Obedience, they were the first that took up Arms against their Prince, and broke all the Solemn Vows they had made to him: *What was the Case? They saw evidently that Popery would supplant them all; That they possess'd all the Honours and Wealth of the Church; they could not expect, but if Popery came in, there would be another Race to provide for, and that the Church of England must pay the Ar-rears of all the Ages of the Reformation: When this came in View, it was plain they would fall off.*

These Things made it plain, that whatever length the Clergy had gone to oppress others, whatever length the Gentry had gone to Compliment King *James II.* it was not *Popery* they aim'd at; That they aim'd at Erecting themselves, making their Power Absolute, and having the Fleece of the Flock, this no-body doubted; but to think they aim'd at *Popery*, was really Ridiculous, and was to say they aim'd at pulling themselves down.

To say our Ministry aim at the Pretender, is to say they aim at pulling themselves down; for as much

as the Tyranny of a *Tory Ministry* is Threatening, you will find the Tyranny of a *Popish Pretender* is quite another Thing; a *Tory Ministry* is like *Jupiter's* Lightning, but a *Popish* would be like *Jupiter's* Storm; and I cannot believe our Ministry so bereav'd, as not to know that the Tools of a *Popish* Reign would as certainly introduce New Favourites, New Management, New Ministry, as ever this Ministry supplanted the Old, and no Benefaction can oblige them to such a degree as would secure it; and these are my Reasons which I cannot believe, that the present Ministry intend to bring in the Pretender.

Nor is this said to close your Eyes, but open them, not to have you blind to the Mistakes of the Ministry, or hood-wink'd and in the dark, as to the Design of the Ministry; no, no, I would have you look every where, and be watchful on every side; if the Ministry or any other, really attempt setting up the Pretender, let them be detected, and may they be prevented.

But having laid this down so plain, it remains then to enquire, What is the real Danger we are in, as to the Pretender, and from whence the Mischief is to be look'd for?

I'll be very plain with you, that I think you look to the wrong Place; that our danger is not from Abroad, from Leagues, Treaties, New Confederacies, and the like, not from Abroad, but from Home; That at Home our Danger is not from our Governours, but from ourselves; I wish our whole Nation all turn our Eyes to the point, where the real Danger lies; lest, while we are poring upon remote and imaginary Dangers, and amusing ourselves with Fears on the wrong side, we are surpriz'd with an Enemy in another Place, and he breaks in upon us where we are not aware.

I shall be plainer on this Subject in my next.